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RACE DEVELOPMENT BY INDUSTRIAL MEANS
AMONG THE MOROS AND PAGANS OF THE
SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES

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The acquisition of the Philippine Islands was not the fulfillment of premeditated and deliberate commercial ambition or of national aggrandizement. In the movement of world-wide political events, affecting our national destiny, we were given this colonial problem to solve in the Pacific. No man or set of men coldly calculated the factors of this problem in advance and turned on the power that propelled the ship of state to the shores of Manila Bay, there to destroy Spanish authority in the Orient, and introduce our great western republic to the nations of the earth, as a full-fledged world power.

We may justly say that Providence in His omniscient wisdom allotted to the American people this new and vastly important task. The responsibility imposed is both individual and national. By three of the fundamental essentials of international law—conquest, purchase and treaty—we acquired and fixed our responsibility. We can not shirk our obligations if we would and we ought not to if we could.

On October 23, 1903, Governor Finley held at Zamboanga, Mindanao, the first American durbar ever assembled among Mohammedans and Pagans. It was a momentous event at which about four thousand of these people, embracing representatives from sixteen tribes, headed by the Sultan of Magindanao and his tribal chiefs, responded to the call for a great bichara (meeting). These people arrived by trail and by a vast number of native boats, the latter being highly decorated with native bunting. Their approach was heralded by the beating of agongs and kulintangans and

the firing of lantakas (native cannons of brass). As this vast assemblage drew near to the Zamboanga dock, the hum of voices, the shouts of command, the swish of paddles, all coupled with the noise of agongs and lantakas made indescribable din and a scene of matchless barbaric splendor. The Sultan and his tribal chiefs were received by Governor Finley with high military honors and escorted by troops to the audience chamber.

On the eve of assuming control of these people Governor Finley deemed it of vital importance, and as due them from the American people, that they, the effective proletariat of the Southern Archipelago and the potential voice of the country, should know, first hand, something of the causes that brought the American government to the Philippines, something of the purposes of the American people toward the native inhabitants, and something of our qualifications to undertake their control and guidance as a dependent people.

Passing over the details of this weighty conference it is sufficient to say that it continued with unremitting zeal for three days and nights and covered all of the essential points of immediate contact between these people of Oriental views and customs and the representatives of the great republic of the new western world. On the subjects of slavery, separation of church and state, equality before the law, prohibition of all things repugnant to law, the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines, title to lands and the distribution of public lands, American rights under the provisions of international law, the liberty of contract as defined by the Supreme Court of the United States in its application to individuals, the American judicial system, the American military system, the powers of the insular government at Manila, the powers of the provincial government at Zamboanga, prohibition as to the possession and use of weapons, the American system of public education, the American principles of self-government, the Bates Agreement with the Sultan of Sulu, the American system of taxation, the pressing necessity for the observance of public sanitation and the importance of improved roads and trails.

Of course these important and rather complicated subjects were sketched rapidly and in the simplest manner, and adequate time given for discussion, and for the presentation of the inquiries, petitions and claims of the natives. The latter were tremendously impressed by the opportunities and consideration afforded them. The great majority of the assembly had never before been permitted to attend a public meeting of this sort, and to come in direct contact with the officials of the government. The opportunity thus afforded was most flattering to the intelligence of the Moros and Pagans, and most encouraging to their ideas of justice and fair play.

These people had not joined the Aguinaldo revolt for the establishment of an alleged Filipino republic, nor did they in any way sympathise with this movement in the northern islands. They had, however, been approached by representatives of Aguinaldo but deliberately refrained from participating in the rebellion, and more than that, offered their services and aided the loyal Christians to drive out the Filipino insurgents from Zamboanga and turn over the capital of the Southern Islands to the American troops. Many Moros and Pagans welcomed American control, as a contrast to Spanish and Filipino methods, on the basis of religious toleration and a high regard for the military power and great resources of the Americans.

The insurgent and independence element among the Filipinos early began to poison the Moro mind against the Americans by falsely warning the Moros and Pagans that the American government would use all taxes collected from them for the purpose of destroying their religion, to break up their domestic relations, take away their lands, and finally abandon the people to the control of some other nation, perhaps Japan or Russia. In consequence many Moro chiefs resisted the collection of the cedula and road taxes, and carried such resistance to open and persistent hostility against the government. Fuel was added to the flame of discontent engendered by the Filipinos by reason of imposing a higher cedula or poll tax than that demanded by the Spanish government. Ultimately the non-Chris-

tians began to realize that the greater requirement of the Americans really meant more and greater benefits to them individually and also as a people. That the American government was acting as their trustee and guardian in collecting the public taxes, and in their expenditure for public improvements, which were open to the equal enjoyment of all persons without class distinction of any kind. They also discovered, in spite of adverse comment, that the taxes were laid uniformly upon all classes of people, Americans, Europeans, Chinese and Filipinos, as upon Moros and Pagans.

Purely military occupation and control of the Moro country from May 19, 1899, to August 31, 1903, was absolutely necessary to lay the foundations for permanent peace and prepare the way for the advent of a semi-civil organization, modeled after the Dutch and Spanish politico-military systems, which finally took form on September 1, 1903, under the provisions of Act No. 787 of the Philippine Commission, known as the organic law of the Moro Province, and prepared under the personal direction of Civil Governor William H. Taft. The Moros and Pagans know Mr. Taft as the father of the American system of government in the Philippines. Military control still continued but strictly in accordance with the restrictions and limitations imposed by Act No. 787 which made the commanding general of the Southern Islands (Department of Mindanao and Sulu, embracing the Moro Province) answerable direct to the governor general at Manila for the civil management of the province, as he was answerable direct to the division commander at Manila for the military control of the department. The position therefore became a dual one (civil-military) for the department commander and for each and every army officer assigned to civil duty under his direction. Act 787 provided for a legislative council, consisting of five members of which the department commander was the presiding officer.

Within two months after the inauguration of this politico-military system Governor Finley ordered the celebration of the first American durbar at Zamboanga, as already

described. A month later, on November 24, 1903, he ordered another and smaller durbar or bichara at Zamboanga for the consideration of the plans devised by him for the establishment of the Moro Exchange system, as the foundation for the industrial development of the Moros and Pagans. Governor Finley had been formulating these plans during the preceding year, while stationed in the lake region of central Mindanao, where he came in contact with the Malanao and Ilanun Moros. An experimental Moro Exchange was established at Malabang in December, 1902, under military control, and the Moros manifested not a little interest in its operation.

After the second durbar at Zamboanga Governor Finley traveled extensively among the Moro and Pagan tribes and made a special study of the relations existing between these two important classes of non-Christian people, and also their relation to the Christian Filipino and the Chinese element. As a result of this study it was found that the Pagans were hill people and the natural producers of the country. They were necessarily agriculturists, and by reason of their habitat and environment they did not engage in piracy, slavery and war. They were peacefully inclined, enjoyed the solitude and grandeur of nature, worshiped nature and fed upon her bounteous returns from a faithful tillage of the soil.

In traveling among the hill people, especially the Subanuns, we always found them well provided with food, very industrious and invariably hospitable. Their houses were generally of simple construction and more or less temporary as to location, because these primitive farmers have never been able to acquire possession of and use such agricultural implements as would enable them to engage in intensive cultivation. They could contend with the forests by cutting them down and destroying the fallen material, when dry, with fire. The tillage of the rich, moist soil is followed quickly and easily with a blunt pointed knife and a sharpened stick. But when the second growth appeared and the ground became covered with kogon grass, and the soil hardened by evaporation, then the primitive farmer found that

his primitive tools could not successfully overcome the tough sod and the drying effect of the sun. He could forge knives and fell the forests but he failed to devise implements with which to rend the matted sod and expose the subsoil to tillage and seeding. This kaingin system of farming has proved very destructive to the rich and valuable forests of Mindanao. The Philippine Commission, in support of a policy for the proper conservation of natural resources has enacted a stringent law against the kaingin method of agriculture, but it is very difficult of enforcement against the isolated settlements of the hill people, who never assemble in villages but are segregated into family units, at widely separated points, whose houses are often the most temporary shelters and erected where approach is the most difficult.

Before the advent of the Moros and Dyaks, about A.D. 1475, from Borneo and the Straits Settlements, to the south and west, these hill people were coast people and gained their living from the sea, and from tilling the rich, alluvial soil of the small valleys and deltas along the shore line. Life was easier then and the daily pursuits more varied. But those sea rovers and traders (Moros and Dyaks) from the south and west began to appear upon the quiet scene and gradually wrought a most radical change. These rovers were skilled and hardy seamen and withal well armed and daring warriors. They enforced their trading schemes with the ready and violent use of the spear and knife. The peaceful aborigines of the rich and beautiful Mindanao shores were forced back into the interior to escape the merciless pillage and extortions of the Moros and Dyaks. About one hundred years later another horde of trading sharks came from the north, the southern tier of islands of the Visayan group, and settled along the coast line of Mindanao on the north, east and west. They were also raided by the Moros and Dyaks who from time to time employed the Visayans to travel in the interior and plunder the aborigines who had become, through force and circumstances, the original hill people. Thus these latter people became timid, suspicious, secretive and deceptive. They sought individual

seclusion because when grouped into villages they became more easily discovered and more easily plundered by the vicious Moros, Dyaks and Visayans. In different parts of Mindanao these hill people became known as Subanuns, Tirurayes, Manobos, Bogobos, Mandayans, Bilanes, Atas, Tagacoles, Giangas, Bukidnons, Dulanganes, Tagabiles and Mangangas. In the Island of Basilan they are known as Yakanes. In round numbers these people aggregate 250,000 souls. Opposed to them are the Moros, including the Dyaks absorbed by them, and number about 350,000 souls, inclusive of the inhabitants, all Moros, of the Sulu Archipelago. In addition are the Visayans (Filipino Christians) numbering about 50,000 souls, whose villages now fringe the coast line of Mindanao.

The political and economic situation here disclosed was that of 250,000 Pagans hemmed in and subsisted upon by 400,000 mixed Mohammedans and Christians. Two hundred and fifty thousand hill people, the primitive farmers of the country and its real producers, held in bondage by 400,000 parasites and compelled to contribute to their support, in addition to the maintenance of their own families. Two hundred and fifty thousand nature worshipers and simple folk surrounded by 350,000 fierce followers of the prophet Mohammed, supplemented by 50,000 devoted adherents of the Catholic church.

Thus were these hill people hunted for their forest products on the one hand and persecuted for their adverse religious faith on the other. Their burdens were well nigh insurmountable and certainly most discouraging. In a region with less fertile soil and deprived of the benefits derived from nature's ever bountiful storehouse of available food supply the hill people would have long ago succumbed to the ravages of their industrial and religious foes.

This form of oppression became finally and firmly fixed upon the hill people. A system of taxation was established by the Moros known as Siwaka, (Buis, Buhis, Palai) and Pamuka (Sukai). The Siwaka was a direct tax payable in farm products, crops or stock, in return for a small gift of cloth made by the Sultan or one of his Datus. The

tax-gatherers sent by the Moros to live among the hill people were called Panguku. These agents were sometimes Filipinos and at other times Moros. They grafted upon the hill people over and above that which they were compelled to gather and turn over to the Sultans and their Datus. When the taxes were not paid, for any reason, at the appointed time they automatically increased to any amount, according to the decision of the Sultan and the hierarchy of Datus. Following the nonpayment of the fine thus imposed the unfortunate hill-dweller was called before his Datu who assigned him to the ever-increasing band of slaves.

When the Americans arrived such were the controlling conditions between the hill people and the coast people. It required two years of travel and investigation, under many perilous and discouraging situations, by Governor Finley before he could acquire the facts and formulate a remedy.

Many meetings were held, many persons interrogated and many rancherias visited, with a view to observing the people under natural surroundings, allaying fear and suspicion, avoiding prejudice and self-interest, and faithfully exposing to view both sides of each case. The Sultans and their Datus, together with the self-interested Filipino and Chinese traders were opposed to any investigation and warned the hill people against the evil-minded and dangerous American Governor. A certain class of self-interested and impecunious Americans and Europeans opposed the movement for the betterment of the hill people. Some other white men thought that the government should not interfere with the natural and alleged inalienable rights of the people, and that it would be very unwise to disturb existing economic conditions, the result of centuries of oppression. That Spain had tried and failed. That the second state would be worse than the first. That the people concerned were not worth the huge effort involved. That ignorance, superstition and long established custom could not be altered, and that finally the government had other and more important matters to consider and provide for in

promoting the interests of Americans and Europeans, who alone by their business acumen could develop and improve the country. The ignorant and savage masses must rise or fall by their own efforts. Government aid would pauperize and demoralize them. It is opportune to quote here certain remarks upon state aid by the Sales Agent of the Philippine Government in his annual report for 1912.

The commonly accepted American and English conception of the relation of the government and individual in continental Europe is one which is erroneous in the extreme. It includes autocratic control, strong centralization of power, and a merging of the rights of the individual into those of the state. Whatever justification this belief may find in such continental institutions as might properly be included in a political survey, it finds none whatever in those which bear upon the purposes of this discussion. The continental theory of material development seems to operate entirely apart from politics and to rest firmly upon some fundamental principle of development, the acceptance of which is complete. Monarchies of all classes recognize it as clearly as do republics and socialistic states. The conception of the function of the state is a broad one and in it individual rights are kept well in the foreground. The term "paternalism" carries with it no terrors when it conserves the interests of all concerned, and a class of paternalism which in its practical operation tends toward the development among a people of qualities of responsiveness and self-reliance represents a very high standard of excellence. The individual is recognized by the state as representing a unit of value which may, with profit to the state and benefit to him, be made the subject of direct or indirect investment. The nature and extent of the investment is measured by the degree to which it may be necessary to supplement his equipment in order to make his efforts most highly productive.

These critics all followed a narrow and selfish view of the situation. They could hardly be considered as sincerely interested in the successful and permanent betterment of a dependent people. They did not consider the problem from the broad humanitarian standpoint, and from the basis of a sound and progressive public policy, demanding the mutual coöperation of all interests. They even overlooked the urgent necessity for a rational economic policy which must provide for a large and permanent supply of reliable and efficient manual labor. They were unwittingly planning to strangle the goose that lays the golden egg. They were unmindful of the significance of that forceful expression of

the Filipino patriot, Jose Rizal, who said that "the future of the Philippines lies in the hands of its mountain people," and he should have added; in reasonable and helpful coöperation with its coast people.

Notwithstanding these and other discouragements Governor Finley launched his scheme of the Moro Exchange system and trading stores in May, 1904, which received the approval of the legislative Council of the Moro Province in Act No. 55, enacted June 14, 1904, and which finally obtained the sanction of the Philippine Commission.

Then followed a series of meetings with Moros, Filipinos and Pagans at which the plans and purposes of the Moro Exchange system were unfolded to the anxious and overburdened tillers of the soil, who longed for freedom from the terrors of slavery and the crushing burdens of the Siwaka and Pamuka systems of Moro taxation. It was of vast importance to both the coast people and the hill people that their trade relations be reorganized and adjusted on a business basis that would permit of healthy and progressive development. These two classes of people must get together and mutually coöperate along industrial lines for the betterment of themselves and of their country. Left to their own ingenuity they would have continued to wallow in the morass of conflict, oppression and despair for an indefinite period of time.

The history of the development of our great Northwest is especially applicable at this point, One population after another has settled, farmed, failed and moved away to other fields and perhaps other failures. The failure was due in most cases to the simple fact that the control of elements indispensable to success was in hands whose interests were confined to extracting from the situation the maximum of immediate personal benefit, regardless of either the general welfare or the rights of others. American methods of production are almost as far in the rear of those of continental Europe as is its system of credit. No soil is so ungrateful as to refuse to respond to proper treatment.

Spanish evacuation and American occupation weakened the bonds of oppression and degradation, and afforded the

opportunity taken by Governor Finley to lead these people to a common and harmonious basis of agreement, sink their differences into oblivion, correlate their powers for mutual good, make them appreciate the need of one class for the other in the direction of uplift, and start them off on the desirable way open to them, viz: industrial development.

There was imperative need at the outset for conditions and opportunities to make an honest and adequate living so as to preclude the necessity of reverting to the old methods of piracy, plunder and slavery. The Moro Exchange system presented a feasible solution that appealed to all. It was a system of fair play, fair profits and cash returns. The cost of maintenance, 1 per cent of the daily sales, was within the reach of all participants and placed no burden on the purchaser. There was no limit placed on the productive capacity of any member, for the demand was usually equal to or above the supply, and the government agreed to pay cash for any non-perishable products that appeared as an excess at the close of business on any day. The Moro Exchange system thus offered the advantages of a school of instruction to promote agriculture, commerce and friendly relations. It formed the clearing house for racial, social, religious and commercial differences between the hill people and the coast people, and laid the foundation for their future blending and coöperation in the progressive development of their country.

This vital principle of coöperation is the foundation stone of the Moro Exchange system. It had never been applied in Spanish times and after American occupation it did not meet with general favor from American investors. The principle favors industrial and commercial development along lines and by methods that will insure the protection of the rights of all participants, especially where any of them are handicapped by ignorance and lack of experience. On this question the sales agent of the Philippine government says in his report for 1912:

Coöperation, whose importance as a fundamental policy in agricultural, industrial and commercial development has been fully

demonstrated by the experience of continental Europe, is in America relegated to the class of institutions which are "interesting but not necessary". The trials which this institution has received in America have generally resulted in failure. This has been due to no fault of coöperation, but to the lack of proper government backing and support, or to the fact that its sphere of influence was not sufficiently large to furnish protection against its natural enemies, money and speculation, or that in organization or management the real science of coöperation was not sufficiently understood and considered.

The lack of true appreciation of the science and art of coöperation, influenced by the adverse elements of speculation, has greatly retarded the industrial and commercial development of our Indian wards in the states, and under similar conditions is experienced as an unreasonable restraint upon a like development of our Indian wards in the Philippines. A baneful influence of this sort germinates and grows with extreme insidiousness and therefore should be radically overcome at its inception.

In promoting their welfare along any line of action the Moros can not divorce themselves from their religion (Mohammedan) because the great mass of them have never known any other system of living. The principles of modern Christianity have not been introduced to them in a way to attract and hold their attention. Uncompromising eradication of long established customs, immediate change in the daily routine of life, baptism by force or deception, radical divergence from existing forms in the control of women and children, denunciation of what the people hold dear and sacred, unrestrained abuse of their feelings, ridicule of their customs, change of dress and of parental name, and various other practices engaged in through Christian missionary effort have failed to be successful in the propaganda of Christian proselytism.

The Moro is not convinced by any doctrine, policy or plan that seeks as a *sine qua non* of acceptance that he shall forego existing practices at once and show by outward and visible signs that he has done so. He stubbornly resists frontal attacks but may be dislodged from his position by discreet and considerate advances upon his flanks.

Although a Mohammedan and a pirate he is still human and subject to control. He keenly appreciates sympathy and justice.

If these benighted people are willing to say voluntarily, after ten years of labor with them, and they have said it to Governor Finley, "help us to avoid temptation and sin, and to regulate our customs and laws so that they may be brought into line and agreement with the customs and laws of the American government, and that we as Mohammedans may become better American citizens," then there is most encouraging hope that their complete regeneration along social, moral and industrial lines has made a strong beginning in the right direction. Under Spanish rule the state church existed without interruption and of course under Mohammedan rule no other form of government has ever prevailed. Although the Mohammedan religion is a large factor in the daily life of the Moros there is a reason for it. In this respect they differ little from the Filipinos who live under the rigid discipline of the Catholic church. The more intelligent Moros and Pagans understand and appreciate the real liberty of conscience accorded them under the American system of government.

General Wood made this fact very clear to many Christians and non-Christians during his régime as the first civil governor of the Moro Province. Governor Finley has repeatedly since then, to individuals and at public meetings explained to the natives the inviolable American policy of non-interference between church and state. This policy appealed to the Moros and Pagans from the start and smoothed the way for a closer and more influential contact with them.

These people are wards of the government and as such children of the state they should receive paternal care, more especially as they ask for it. It is vitally essential to their advancement while tribal differences prevail and until they have arrived, by social and industrial evolution, to that point where popular self-control in communities becomes practicable.

These people think in terms of their church as they under-

stand Mohammedanism and Paganism, and are groping for a way to make their religious life consistent with their obligations to the American government. Can we abandon these people after having won their respect, admiration and confidence? Must we compel them to retreat, discard our doctrine and fall under the control of another power whose policy and plans may likewise become for them a chimera also? Let us hope that we shall not be so recreant to our individual and national responsibility. Some Americans talk of such abandonment but our history shows that where we have established the American ensign as a symbol of liberty, peace, truth and righteousness we have never deserted it to escape responsibility for the advancement, cultivation and settlement of those ideas.

The rehabilitation of the Moros and Pagans is slow and difficult owing to their natural and acquired idiosyncrasies and to the many evil practices to which they are subject. The better class among these people, led by that sturdy and sincere patriot, Datu Hadji Abdullah of Taluksangay, the Abraham Lincoln of the Moros, are making a vigorous campaign in behalf of a better life and a more stable and progressive future for these natives of Moro land. Let us help them and stand by the trust until victory is won.

The long-suffering people of both classes acknowledged at the various bicharas (meetings) that their native system of government was bad and not productive of comfort, happiness, friendliness, coöperation, or prosperity. Some said they desired a change but did not know how to effect it. That if weapons were surrendered then one class might get the advantage of the other. If slavery was abandoned how could the chiefs and their families gain a living. If a change was effected under government control would the government continue such a policy until it was an assured success? All of these and many other questions by the people were discussed and answered to the satisfaction of the majority. Of course these people and others like them must have concrete and visible demonstration to secure conviction and clinch the scheme. It is an Arab proverb that "one day of absolute truth and justice is better than

seventy years of good wishes and promises." It was contended by Governor Finley that an evidence of good faith in the promises made by the people at the meetings would be demonstrated by such contributions from them to aid in the construction and opening of the first Exchange, as they could conveniently subscribe. That contributions could be made in money or in kind, and if of the latter character they must be of such articles, products or animals as could be readily transformed into the currency of the islands. That whatever they contributed would be added to by the government from available public funds until a sum was obtained that would liquidate all expenses of construction, and of maintenance for a period of three months.

These long-suffering people eagerly subscribed their mites, according to their possessions, and collected something over one-third of the total cost of the enterprise.

The first or parent Exchange was constructed at Zamboanga and opened with a great celebration and fiesta on September 1, 1904. All classes of people joined with the government officials in making the occasion a notable one. The Moros and Pagans crowded the large buildings and yard space with their products and wares, which by sundown were almost entirely disposed of. The natives came from far and near, by boat and by trail, some of them covering distances of more than one hundred miles. In that unique emporium of wild men, the first of its kind ever gathered under the tropical sun of Moro land, slaves jostled masters, hill people traded with coast people, sworn and bitter enemies forgot their feuds, timid women and children joined heartily in the excitement, new acquaintances were made, new agreements were entered into, new and strange things were purchased for loved ones, and the slave and the peon experienced the first thrills of freedom, and the quickening impulse of self-conscious control, in the possession of that which was lawfully and rightfully theirs, as the product of their own ingenuity and labor.

Thus began the first Exchange and trading store in the history of Moro land. The first public gathering of hill people and coast people ever witnessed in the southern

islands, when not a weapon was present except for sale, and not one was carried upon the person. Never before in Zamboanga had such an observance of regulation and good order been strictly adhered to. The Moros held their promises of good conduct inviolate and sacred. It was frequently commented upon during the exercises of the opening day and great wonder expressed that the Moros and Pagans would thus respect the wishes of Governor Finley.

At the large durbars in October and November, 1903, the Moro chiefs and their followers came armed to the conference and would not have attended it otherwise. They were not yet fully acquainted with the government, and had urged the governor to not oppose their wishes respecting the carrying of weapons on that occasion. There were no brawls and no need to make arrests for misconduct or violation of law. Americans and Europeans at Zamboanga were at first thrown into a state of great excitement and terror by the approaching horde of Moros and Pagans, all heavily armed. Women and children were collected at the military post and placed under guard. The troops were kept under arms during the period of the conference.

At the opening of the Exchange, about one year later, not a weapon was worn and many were offered for sale and such sales were only permitted to Americans and Europeans for keepsakes and personal use. These were evidences of personal control over savage races that astonished all classes of people who observed or heard of the results achieved. It was the beginning of a new era for these savages and they felt the strange influence coursing through their bodies with an effect that appeared to baffle explanation. Some called it a vision, others that the spirits (balian) were at work. Nearly all were agreed that the results would be beneficial to them and their families.

Since the opening of the parent Exchange on September 1, 1904, at Zamboanga, branch Exchanges and Trading stores have been established at thirty other rancherias in the District of Zamboanga and at several rancherias in other parts of the Moro Province.

As a consequence the volume of business has steadily

increased as has also a marked degree of general prosperity among the hill people and the coast people. More of the standard money of the Philippines is in circulation among these people than ever before in their history. These long-time enemies have grown to be more tolerant of each other, and the more warlike coast dwellers have found that there is more profit in friendly association and mutual coöperation, in conducting trade relations than by following the old methods of slavery, piracy and extermination. The old systems of extortionate taxation have been abandoned in the District of Zamboanga and adherence and support given to the lawfully established government system. The difficulty of making collections from Moros and Pagans is growing less every year. Their families are better clothed, their children attend the public schools with greater regularity and the homes are better constructed, and provided with more of the comforts of life. Christians, even the despised Filipinos, may now attend a public gathering of Moros and Pagans and feel assured that, manifesting due respect for the rights of others, will insure them a safe and hospitable reception. On the other hand failure to regard the decencies of life and efforts to resort to abuse of authority, and interference with native women will quickly lead to serious consequences.

By June 30, 1911 the volume of business of the Moro Exchange system had increased from a few thousands in 1904 to more than one million pesos annually. The speculative interests of the southern islands viewed this prosperity with considerable apprehension and considered that the usefulness of the Moro Exchanges and their trading stores, as a coöperative institution for the development of dependent peoples was interesting but a manifestation of paternalism wholly unnecessary and really detrimental to the best interests of the natives. That by encouraging and supporting such paternalism in behalf of the Moros and Pagans (coast people and hill people) the government was needlessly and wrongfully interfering with the alleged inalienable rights of a free people (Filipinos, Chinese, Europeans and Americans) under a democratic system of government, involving the

principle of the "liberty of contract," to use a dependent people according to local conditions and the peculiar surroundings of each case, the course of action to be determined independently by each employer, as against any general and supervisory system of government control. In the pros and cons of this situation we are beginning to cultivate a resemblance to the peculiarities that have developed in connection with the solution of our Indian problems in the West. With an immense accumulation of relevant and convincing facts filed away in our Indian Bureau, and in the operation of our public societies for the protection of the interests of dependent Indians, it would seem as though serious errors could be avoided in conducting the regeneration of our Indian wards in the Southern Philippines. Our constructive military policy has always favored the weak as against the strong and demanded that the ignorant and inexperienced be accorded government supervision and aid as long as such guardianship was helpful to the wards and consistent with the powers of the state.

Through the instrumentality of the Moro Exchange system the dependent people of all classes were brought into closer union and more mutually helpful relations.

The regular market and trading days gradually became occasions of public gatherings where members of different tribes made their first acquaintance, where methods of living, agriculture, boat-making and other native industries were compared and discussed, where family affairs were aired in good spirits, where native swain enlarged the vision of their opportunities, where differences in religious belief were amicably reviewed, where new ideas of all sorts germinated, and where the government could come in personal contact and helpful relations with its wards.

These people are naturally distrustful of every new proposition, especially if it involves a personal sacrifice. A nomadic life has unfitted them to submit to direct restraint. They have submitted to many persecutions from their own, but these practices have descended to them as a heritage of birth and custom, and therefore are gradually absorbed into the daily life. Under American rule many new things

have appeared, accompanied by what seemed irritating exactions, which have abruptly acted upon and to some extent changed the course of life, and made the new regime appear to be beyond the power of the native to assimilate unaided.

At this point in his new career the Moro Exchange system stepped in and concretely illustrated to the Moro and Pagan how they could get together and become mutually helpful. It was a great relief to the puzzled native who often protested that the American methods were impossible for him. But coöperation through the Exchange and its trading stores enabled the most ordinary native to pay his cedula tax and finally his road tax. These obligations were gradually imposed and the approach to them carefully explained as necessary public measures for the ultimate betterment of the people and therefore of the state. Industrial coöperation led to the introduction and successful operation of jinrickishaws by Moros and Pagans at Zamboanga in 1906. The use of such carriages in Manila where 500 were introduced in 1905 had been found to be practically impossible, and much of the property was destroyed by rioting Filipinos, who were enraged against the Chinese for pulling the carts, and competing with their native ponies in hauling the quilez and carromato. The Filipinos also pretended to resent the proposition of the American and Spanish owners that they should be employed as horses in pulling Japanese carriages. Thereupon the Moro Exchange at Zamboanga took up the jinrickishaw question with the Moros and Pagans who, after a full presentation of the matter, including the failure in Manila and its causes, deliberately agreed to operate such carriages in the capital of the Moro Province. The Filipinos made strenuous efforts to dissuade the non-Christians from operating the Japanese carts, but all to no purpose, and Zamboanga remains today the only city in the Philippine Islands where jinrickishaws are operated.

The Moro Exchange system under government supervision made them possible, furnished lucrative employment to

many needy non-Christians and finally converted the silly Filipinos to their daily use and enjoyment.

Friendly association in the Moro Exchanges had gradually cultivated many new ideas and desires among all classes of non-Christians and finally gave rise to the first carnival and exposition ever held in the Philippine Islands. This was opened at Zamboanga on February 7, 1907, and continued for a period of five days. Thousands of Christians and non-Christians participated in this native fair and displayed their products for observation and sale. Committees were formed to award prizes and many were declared for Moros and Pagans, who manifested the greatest pride in their receipt and placed the engraved certificates in their houses as valuable mementoes of the occasion. Many people assembled from the most distant parts of the Moro Province and the leading men of various and diverse tribes met in friendly and profitable intercourse for the first time in their lives. Old traditions were rehearsed, old practices revived and numerous games and feats of strength were engaged in which caused astonishment and merriment to both Christians and non-Christians. The utmost friendliness and self-control prevailed among people, who three years before could not have been brought together without violence and bloodshed. The fair closed with a grand baile (ball) of all nations which brought these savage people into even closer personal contact within the large provincial building and yet their self-control was perfect. Not an arrest of a native was made during the entire fair and no native appeared with weapons. A situation almost practically impossible of achievement in any civilized community with correspondingly diverse elements in the population. A splendid example of efficient and progressive development through the instrumentality of coöperation.

Since 1907, the Moro Exchange system, first organized in 1903 by Governor Finley in the Moro Province, has been carried into other provinces of the Philippines by the Department of the Interior. In his annual report for 1910 Commissioner Worcester, Secretary of the Interior, says:

In my opinion the next important step we should take in stimulating the development of the hill tribes of northern Luzon is to cultivate trade among them as actively as possible. With this end in view government Exchanges have been started at various places in the Mountain Provinces and in Nueva Viscaya. An effort is made to keep these trading stores supplied with the things the people in their vicinity most need.

Sales are made at 20 per cent above cost to defray expenses of maintenance. The Exchanges also buy basket work, wood carvings, weapons and articles of dress which can readily be sold as curios, paying a good price for them in cash. The vendor is free to spend his money, obtained from the sale of his wares, as he prefers.

In the province of Agusan, Mindanao, the Exchanges established for the use of Pagans are known collectively as Manobo stores. In the province of Palawan the Exchanges created for the benefit of the Tagbanuas and Moros promise considerable business in the near future.

When the American system replaced the feudal form of government of the Spaniards and the Moros, and generally subjected all classes of people to the same imposts, and applied the provisions of uniform law impartially, the native chiefs and their immediate followers protested their inability to conform to the new plan, because of class distinction and inability to labor. These special classes were promptly met with the declaration that the Moro Exchange system of markets, trading stores and tribal ward farms opened the way for them to engage in profitable employment. That, under the supervision of a patient, just and powerful government every man, woman and child would have equal opportunities to secure an honest living and enjoy the fruits of their labors, without unnecessary loss or violation of rights, so far as existing law and executive control could provide. These promises were made, accepted and fulfilled through the operations of the Moro Exchange system, which thus became the active agent for awakening and maintaining the industrial and commercial spirit among the uncivilized tribes of the Southern Philippines. It has become a powerful instrument for peace and unity among the hill people and the coast people; it has effected their disarmament without great loss of life and property, it has laid the foundations for education and self-government; it has

centered and solidified the aims and ambitions of these people, and marked a course for the accomplishment of their eternal betterment which has gained their confidence and acceptance. Surely such a system should not be cast aside on purely speculative grounds or for the purpose of selfish aggrandizement.

Industrial development through the Moro Exchanges opened the way for agricultural improvement by the agency of the tribal ward farms.

In 1907 Governor Finley began to develop this scheme in practical form, in order to encourage the non-Christians to understand, appreciate and benefit by the homestead privileges of the Philippine public land act. The homestead of 16 hectares (40 acres) is open for free entry to every male adult non-Christian who is a citizen of the Philippine Islands, and the cadastral system of surveys and titles inaugurated by Governor General Forbes has made it easy and safe for these people to become landholders under the law.

The tribal ward farm is established at each tribal ward headquarters in the District of Zamboanga and comprises the 40 acres of homestead authorized by law.

The proper cultivation of this little farm, under the supervision of the tribal ward officials, enables the natives of each tribe to observe and profit by modern methods of agriculture, their effect in overcoming natural difficulties in plant growth, and in the production of the best crops possible under existing conditions. The tribal ward farm can be so conducted as to distribute seeds, cuttings and plants, to improve poultry and stock, and by intensive cultivation secure such returns from sales of products as will materially aid in defraying the expenses of tribal ward administration. Thus the hill people and the coast people will be led by daily example, encouragement and incentive to adopt the homestead method of farming and thereby secure permanent homes protected by guaranteed government titles, guarding against the unlawful and expensive *kaingin* method, and thus become self-supporting productive agents rather than continue as vagrant parasitic nomads.

Lord Roberts during his long military service in India established and maintained chains of public markets in order, through their agency in the collection of the laboring classes, to get in touch with the wild tribesmen of the interior and lay the foundation for peaceful trade, agricultural development and self-government. These markets aided the English army in maintaining a useful line of communication and provided for friendly intercourse among tribes who for generations had been at bitter feud with one another. The hill people found in these markets a common ground on which they could meet without cutting throats.

These markets by stimulating trade with the troops and with neighboring people resulted in opening the adjacent country by means of roads, thus facilitating intercommunication.

It has been clearly evident to the American army during its occupation of the southern Philippines that the regeneration of the uncivilized tribes of that region must be accomplished along industrial lines. That to break the hold of piracy, slavery and other forms of oppression, and to substitute therefor honest methods of living, permanent homes, successful cultivation of the soil, the maintenance of the Moro Exchange system, and the gradual extension of a public school system adjusted to the needs of the Moros and Pagans, will require an indefinite period of military control, conducted in conformity with the accepted methods of dual authority, as exemplified in the politico-military system devised by Governor Taft, authorized by the Philippine Commission (Act 787), and now being worked out by the provincial government at Zamboanga.

In this connection it is well to keep in mind the very significant fact that the Moros and Pagans have informed the Secretary of War and the Governor General of the Philippines, in public meetings at Zamboanga, that they will not submit to Filipino control, but resort to arms against it should political changes result in supplanting American authority in the Moro country. Secretary Dickinson said after his official visit to the islands in August, 1910, that to unite the Moros and Pagans with the Fili-

pinos as an integral governing part of a republican form of government would require essentially the recreation of the entire non-Christian population.

In the last annual report of the Governor General of the Philippines attention is invited to the attitude of the Moros as being strongly opposed to Filipino control of any territory occupied by the former. That the Moros would resort to arms if any such movement was undertaken. The Governor General expressed his judgment that the Filipinos were not qualified to take over such control and that there existed no necessity for any such change in the form of government for the Moro Province.

Concerning this subject Commissioner Worcester says in his annual report for 1910:

At the outset it should be clearly understood that the question involved is not one of the fitness of the Filipinos to govern themselves, but is one of their ability and fitness to dominate, justly control, and wisely guide along the pathway of civilization alien peoples some of whom are warlike. It is true that the Filipino, the Igorot and the Moro are of common racial origin, but so are the Anglo Saxon peoples, and there exist between the Filipinos on the one side, and the Igorots and the Moros on the other, far greater differences than those which distinguish the Germans, the English, and the Americans. The Moro is not only of a much later and far purer Malayan origin than the Filipino, but he is as well a Moham-medan, with all which that fact implies.

Finally it should be clearly borne in mind that the Filipinos have been given an excellent opportunity, under the provisions of Act No. 1425 of December 16, 1905, to demonstrate practically their interest in the non-Christians, and their ability wisely to direct the affairs of primitive peoples. But to the best of my knowledge and belief, not one single measure, looking to the betterment of the condition of these non-Christian inhabitants was ever inaugurated by a Filipino during this period.

After Apayao was established as a sub-province of Cagayan, and the duty of providing funds for the maintenance of its government was explicitly imposed upon the provincial board of that province, the governor stated to me that, in his opinion, it would be useless to make the necessary expenditure, and that it would be better to kill all the savages in Apayao. As they number some 52,000, this method of settling their affairs would have been open to practical difficulties, apart from any humanitarian considerations.

Neither the Moro nor the Pagan are politicians. They do not seek or engage in agitation of that sort, of which

the Filipino is so inordinately fond. They want a firm, just, uniform, consistent, unchanging military rule and for such control they believe in the American method, after 12 years experience, and after having tried the Spanish method for about 350 years. They feel that frequent change in authority is not conducive to their well being, and as they have learned to regard the American Army as being rigorous but just, true to its promises, honest in its dealings with them, impartial in its judgments, and wholly tolerant in religion, it is to the vital interest of, at least the Mohammedan element, that such military control should remain undisturbed in the Moro Province. The continued exercise of such authority will avoid serious outbreaks due to racial and religious animosities, will propagate and encourage the confidence now well advanced, and escape the chief weakness of the Spanish system of intermittent control, and lack of permanent and well defined policy.

The American government in its relation to the Moros and Pagans does less in the way of courtesy, recognition of customs and indulgence of sentiment than any other nation having such people under their control. The English, French and Dutch recognize native titles, the improvement of the native religions, the observance of native customs and the acknowledgement of certain courtesies and honors to native chiefs. At the government prisons in British North Borneo separate cooks and kitchens, and special diets are provided for Mohammedans, Malays, Hindus and Christians. While such consideration of native customs does not appear to endanger the maintenance of proper control by the home government, yet instituting comparison with the methods pursued by the American republic consideration must be had for wide differences in the forms, structure and policy of government and in the temperament of the governing people. Any degree of indulgence granted the subject people must always be clearly outlined in conjunction with the fundamental policy of the government. Indulgences are temporary but the policy must be fixed. The subject people are entitled to know and understand their limitations, which should be nicely adjusted to meet their

necessities, subject to the established policy of the government.

Italy in Tripoli, Spain in Morocco, France in Algeria, Austria in Herzegovina and Bosnia, England in Egypt, India, Borneo and the Straits Settlements, and the Dutch in the East Indies are in contact with the Mohammedan problem of government, in varying degrees of success, with probably the greatest advance having been realized, through a reasonable measure of paternalism, in the Dutch possessions.

The United States has made its advent in the East as a new power for good, not alone for the island races that come under her care, but also in that great settlement of European spheres of influence in Asia, where exists the greatest world problems of our day. We must accept the responsibilities of the new situation as a providentially imposed task upon a progressive and powerful nation. We can not shirk the trust imposed whether for the present or for posterity. From national birth to the present time our development has been westward. It is our destiny. Our industrial and commercial future is indissolubly linked with the destinies of the thousand millions of souls occupying today the oldest empires of the earth.